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THREE  
LETTERS  
TO THE  
MEMBERS of the present  
PARLIAMENT,  
WITH A  
DISCOURSE on KINGS  
A N D  
MINISTERS of STATE.

To which is prefixed

LETTER to Sir JOHN PHILIPPS Bart,

Occasioned by his

RECESS from PARLIAMENT.

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*Quid agat Historicus, qui in ea Tempora inciderit describenda, quibus Urbem obtinebant illa Hominum Monstra, quæ nullum toto Imperio Vestigium Integritatis Sinceritatisque reliquerant?*

STRADA.

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*L O N D O N:*

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T O

Sir JOHN PHILIPPS Bart.

S I R,

**A**T the same Time in which I look on you as an Object of Respect, I cannot but consider you as a Subject of Reproach. Notwithstanding the melancholy Aspect of our present Affairs, and the dismal Prospect round us both at Home and abroad, there is a Possibility of *Englishmen* becoming once more free, and independent of the Continent; but our Freedom and Independence must be regained by active Virtu; why therefore have you receded from the Place where you was always heared with Attention, where you was always esteemed,

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tho seldom followed by a Majority ? Wisdom and Virtue should always be communicative, or, like a Diamond locked from Sight, they lose their Value and their Lustre. Is your Recess from Parliament occasioned by your Despair of succeeding against that Influence which has long debased the Honour of *British* Senates ? This, I have heard you say, is one of the Motives of your Retreat ; and to that you have added your Desire of renewing those Studys which were the Delight of your earlyer Days. This Resolution favours too much of the Indolence of the Academy : *Plato*, the great Mastr of which, says that a good Man in trouled Times retires, as from a Storm, to the quiet Retreats of Philosophy. This Sentiment was rather an Error of the Judgement than of the Heart ; for whatever *Plato* thought right that I believe he would pursue : his Love of Study, and of expanding his Ideas uninterrupted, inclined him to favour his philosophical Indolence : but the superior Excellence of Man consists in active Virtue. The glorious Opportunity is not given to call to drive a *Tarquin* out, to found States to establish Liberty and salutary Laws, to destroy a corrupt Senate, and to restore lost Freedom : but he who can any Way contribute to the Promotion of either of these great

great Works is culpable in desisting, while his Endeavours may be useful. The Perseverance of one great and good Man against a depraved Million is virtuous ; for Honour, like Love and like Knowledge, encreases by Communication.

The Ministers of Corruption make an Interest of the sensual Appetites of Men ; to them they apply, and, offering the Means of purchasing a Satiety of them, they succeed ; and the venal Brutes immediately shake off the most distinguishing Parts of Manhood, Virtue, and Liberty, and become a Herd of Slaves in the ministerial Sty : but as many, thro a Want of Intelligence, for you well know that the Qualification demanded for a Seat in Parliament is neither Honour nor Wisdom, are led into Errors which are fatal to their Country, it is the Duty of those who are capable of giving right Information not to neglect that which is in their Power. Among the Multitude who warp from Right by Temptations are some who might be kep'd stedfast, if they were shewed the Deformity of Corruption and violated Faith ; to shew which, with the Beauty of every opposing Virtue, is the Busyness of Eloquence : you are therefore inexcusable in your Recess, whatever Arguments

Arguments you may furnish yourself with from your Love of Philosophy, and your Taste of antient Learning. Had the younger *Brutus* thought like you in this, for like you he was inamoured with Wisdom and Virtue, and Books were once his Companions more than Men, had he, I say, thought like you, Tyranny and Corruption would then have gone unpunished. The Pleasures which you propose in your Retreat are doubtless great, and such as only the most delicate Minds can relish. A Morning or an Evening spent with *Zenophon*, *Aristotle*, or *Cicero*, will certainly yield a richer Repast than the tedious and indelicate Harangues of ministerial Advocates in the House of Commons: but you are not born for yourself alone. Exquisite as the Happiness which you may frame to yourself may be, it becomes you to leave it, it is your Duty to decline it, when your Country demands the Exercise of those Virtues which have once dilated your Breast, and which now seem cowardly to seek a Retreat to lettered Ease and Tranquility. Instead of turning over the Volumes of passed Ages, you should now make yourself the Subject of the Writings of other Men, and do Deeds to be read and talked of by Posterity. That you have started well in the Race of Honour, and

and continued some Years in the laudable Course, without any Deflection, is granted by all your Countrymen ; that you would not hold a Post of Profit any longer than consistent with your own Reputation and the Interest of your Country will be always told to your Advantage : but I would not at the same Time have it sayed that you was wearyed out by Prostitutes to Gain, by Traytors to their Country, and drove by them to seek a Refuge in distant Corners and unfrequented Shades : that you are incapable of making a League with Vice I firmly believe ; but that is not enough, you should struggle in the Cause of Virtue, till you either prevail or fall. The Delight arising from Books is not equal to that of extirpating Corruption from a Senate, and destroying the worst of Parricides, those of their Country.

Some of our Forefathers lavished their Blood and Fortunes for the Preservation of the Libertyes of *England* : unawed by Ministers or Kings, they first used no Arms but the Force of Reason against the Invaders of their natural and constitutional Rights ; but, when they found the Oppressors deaf to the Voice of Honour, they did not abandon themselves to Despair, they sought not a Retreat in their paternal Fields and

and Groves, but issued on the Plain in Arms, and bad Defyance to those whom they had rather have convinced by Argument than have conquered by the Sword : some fell in Battle, many survived the Fall of regal and ministerial Tyranny, and every Patriot hazarded Life and Fortune for a richer Inheritance than Land or Treasure to their Descendants, Liberty : it is therefore a Debt which we owe to our virtuous and brave Predecessors to guard and secure that to our Children which they have delivered down to us.

How long we may have the Liberty of communicating our Thoughts to the Public by the Press is uncertain : Reports are spread of an intended Restraint ; and, without the Imputation of too easy a Credulity, we may believe that the worst of Men will use any Means which occur to them of preventing a Discovery of their Crimes ; and, as the worst of Men are never the wisest, we need not wonder if they mistake an Act of Folly for an Act of Prudence : such an Attempt, I doubt not, will stir up a Spirit in the Land of laudable Contention, and such a one as may end in the Demolition of those who would destroy one of our most valuable Privileges, the Liberty of the Press. Here, Sir, is a Subject for Reason and Eloquence !

quence ! If a Motion should be made in Parliament to take away this Liberty, how will you be able to justify your Absence from that Place at a Time when your Presence will become so needful ? You have left some Friends in the House who will warmly engage in so interesting a Cause ; but they will doubtless think with me that you ought to be there in such perilous Times ; and your brave and virtuous Friend Mr. *Vernon* will be as vigilant in guarding the Liberty of the Press as he was in guarding the *British* Coasts : he who took *Portobello* against the Sense of one wicked and ignorant Minister will not tamely give up so inestimable a Fortress as the Liberty of the Press in Conformity to another. In both Houses of Parliament are some Members of distinguished Virtues and Talents ; but they are so few, in Comparison with the Majority, that they are like a small Number of able and gallant Soldiers opposed to a large Army of *Pandours*, *Croats*, and *Calmucks* : why did you leave such Friends to the mercyless Treatment of Barbarians, ministerial Barbarians, whose Cruelty is so great, so savage, that they turn against their Feeders to destroy them ? I cannot drop the Subject of the Liberty of the Press, without painting to myself the Horrors

which must follow a Deprivation of it ; which I know must affect you who have derived many Advantages from it, and who are capable of communicating many thro it. If ever we lose this sacred Privilege, Tyranny, Rapine, Treachery, and Corruption, will triumph in their Spoils, Satire must hide her Head, the Muses and the Graces will take their Flight, and to the Light of *Attic* Beauty and Knowledge will succeed a Night of *Gothic* Ignorance and Deformity. When the Love of Learning takes Possession of the Princes and Peers of the Land, it becomes one of the brightest Ornaments of the Crown ; and the Nobles move like so many Satellites round the Sun. *Trajan* and *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* are illustrious Instances of the Advantages which arise to a People from the Wisdom and Learning of their Princes ; and *Pliny*, in the Reign of the first, was an Honour to the Nobility by the Price which he fixed on Knowledge. With what Honours do the Princes *Cosmo* and *Lorenzo*, of the House of *Medici*, appear at the Head of classical Learning, calling the great Authors of Antiquity from the Dust and Ruins in which they lay covered, calling them forth to shine again in their original Brightness, to glad the choice Spirits of such as are born to

to taste those Beautys which give one of the sweetest Relishes to Life! Never did the papal Chair shine with so fair a Lustre as when *Leo* the tenth adorned it, *Leo* the Patron of all useful and polite Literature, *Leo* the Pattern of Humanity; whose Secretary Cardinal *Bembo* placed his chief Delight in promoting Learning and protecting learned Men. When Ignorance lays her leaden Hands on Princes and their Ministers, and closes the Avenues to the divine Spirit of Knowledge, sordid and malignant Desires prevail, Virtue, Purity, and Simplicity of Manners, are chased from the regal Dome and the Habitations of the great, and are succeeded by Riot and Oppression: but what Effect would so dismal a Change have on Men who always groped in Darkness? What is the Absence of Beauty to him who never saw it, and what the Sweets of *Hybla* to him who has no Taste? He who sees the Beauty of Order, and stands in Need of an Architect, wishes for a *Vitruvius* or a *Boyle*; but to him who sees it not a *Perrault* or a *Vanbrugh* will be as good. The Loss of the Liberty of the Press would be no Evil to that Minister, or any other Man, who never understood the Benefits arising from Works of Genius, to

whom the Eloquence of *Demosthenes* is as insipid as the tedious Prattle of an *H—k*, an *A—l*, a *B—d*, a *C—y*, a *S—dys*, a *P—m*, or a *G—le*; and I wish I could add to the Number some whom you were once proud of calling Friends; but a severer Censure than that of Insipidity falls on a *P—y* and a *P—t*; and, rather than be the *E—* of *B—*, I would be a Dog.

Since you have made your Retreat, a Word that has been more frequently used than before since the Conduct of *Cope* and *Lascelles* and since some late Actions in *Flanders*, I hope you will employ your Thoughts on your Country, and write, as you have formerly spoke, in her Defence: the Authority of a Name unstained, and of one who has made a laudable Appearance in Parliament, will easly gain Attention among *Englishmen*: and I think it would be an Act as commendable as rare, if those Members of both Houses of Parliament, who are Lovers of their Country, would mutually publish, in their several Names, the Reasons which incline them to dissent from all Bills against which they vote: however unparliamentary such Proceedings might be deemed, I am sure they would not be unreasonable;

reasonable ; and if they are not illegal, as I believe they are not, the Authors would stand on Record as Men who opened the Eyes of their Countrymen, that they might avoid the Pits which were digging for them.

If I have broke into your Retirement with an ingrateful Address, I shall be sorry ; and if I meet with a Reception favourable to my Wishes, I shall rejoice that I have pleased one whom every good Man would wish to please ; and I am, with an unreserved Esteem,

*S I R,*

November, 1747.

*Your faithful*

*and most humble Servant*

CALEB D'ANVERS.

A D.

## A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE following Letters and Discourse are the Substance of some late Essays in the Craftsman; which, with some Additions now made, contain a short System of our Government and Constitution; and, as they may be useful in this Form to my Countrymen, I thought it my Duty to publish them at this time.

LET-

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# LETTER I.

GENTLEMEN,

**A**S you are the Representatives of the whole Nation, our Complaints, and our Instructions, can be addressed to none so properly as to yourselves ; you have taken on yourselves one of the most important Trusts with which any Body of Men can be vested, the Guardianship of the Liberties and Propertys of a great, and once very flourishing, People ; it is therefore your Duty to listen to their Complaints and Instructions.

Our Situation, Gentlemen, is, by a tedious, corrupt, blundering, and I must say wicked, Administration of Affairs, become so perplexed that we are at a Loss to know what our Ministry drive at ; and they seem to

to be on the Brink of a Precipice, from which they dread to leap, and yet know not well how to go back: notwithstanding this unhappy State, we ought not, like the Countryman in the Fable, to remain inactive, and throw all on Providence, without putting our Shoulders to the Wheel to help the great Machine of Government out of the Mire in which it seems to stick. The more deplorable our Case is, the more vigorously we should exert ourselves. All *Rome* seemed to tremble when *Hannibal* was at the Gate of that great Metropolis; but her brave and virtuous Citizens, instead of yielding to Fear and Despair, roused themselves against their tremendous Foe; they acted unanimously for the Safety of their Country, and thereby drove the Enemy from their Gates, then conquered him, and at last layed *Carthage*, the formidable Rival of *Rome*, in Ashes.

Notwithstanding the Havock which the *French* have made in *Flanders*, and their Success in a late Siege, which is of vast Importance, and notwithstanding the Extent of their Schemes, Part of which is presumptuous enough in all Likelihood to make a Descent on this Island, notwithstanding all these Advantages which they have gained

gained in a short Time, yet our Situation is not so dangerous as that of the *Romans* when *Hannibal* was at their Walls. Let us exert ourselves, and become unanimous, before it is too late; when I say *let us* I mean, Gentlemen, may *you* our Representatives, our otherselves, exert your Courage and Wisdom in Time for the public Security: and if any of you, as indeed it has with some Assurance been suggested, have engaged with certain Persons on certain Terms, which may not be to your Honour to mention, to give them your Votes and Interest in Parliament, break thro the Engagement, and chuse to violate a Contract founded in Iniquity rather than by the Performance of it you should hasten the Fall of your Country, the Destruction of the Libertys of a Land once famous for them; for if the Libertys of *England* should depart, Science, polite Literature, and Trade that nourishes them all, will soon follow them. If by deserting a Ministry, which endeavoured to attach you to them for Ends by no Means advantageous to your Country, you must ruin them, suffer the Destruction of a weak and wicked Ministry rather than the Wreck of your Country: by acting thus, *if your Sins were before as red as Scarlet, they shall become as white as Snow.*

It is in your Power, Gentlemen, to work a wonderful Change in this Land, to reward Virtue and punish Vice. As the Treasure of the Kingdom has been lavishly and wickedly applyed to corrupt Purposes, to trifling and fruitless Negotiations, expensive and ridiculous Expeditions, it is from you we must expect a Retrenchment of national Expenses; you must introduce good Husbandry into the State; and if any Sums are required for Uses no Way necessary for the Interest of the Nation, you must tell them that you will not give what they ask; and instead of giving, you should punish the Extortioners; for such they are who rend from all Degrees of People that which they have no Right to take, and who, when they have it, convert it to Uses destructive of the Good of those from whom they extort it.

You are doubtless all well acquainted with your Dutys; among which are Redress of Grievances and the Promotion of Trade. The several Grievances under which we labour are too severely felt not to be well known: as the Protection of Trade is necessary, if we would be a flourishing People, you should take off the Embarrassments which ignorant Ministers of State have layed on

on it by their Influence in former Parliaments: such Ministers payed no Regard to Futurity while they could raise Money for their present Purposes; and, by their foolish and abominably wicked Conduct in that Particular, they have enabled the *French* to carry on a War against us longer than perhaps they could have done, if the Conduct of our own Administrations had not helped them. By the Ministry oppressing our Sugar Colonys, the *French* serve those Nations which were once our Customers in that Commodity; and they have now almost all the Trade of *Europe* for Sugar: and these Services our late Ministrys at Home, by what contemptible and opprobrious Names to call them I know not, have done to the *French*: yet our present Minister attempted lately to load the Sugar Colonys with more Burdens: it is in you, Gentlemen, to defeat all the foolish or iniquitous Designs which a Ministry may endeavour to put in Execution: consider the State of the Colonys in the *West-Indys*, and restore them to a Condition in which they may be again able to serve foreign Markets; by which we shall have the greater Acceßion of Riches to this Isle and lessen the Wealth of *France*.

From you we expect an Enquiry into the Conduct of Ministers, Admirals, Generals, and inferior Officers by Sea and Land ; and, tho' many have had the Rewards due to the righteous and the brave who deserved the Punishments due to Traytors and Cowards, and many have been deprived of their Command whose Virtues merit their Country's Love and Favour, be you the Instruments of Heaven to pour down Vengeance, tho' late, on the devoted Heads, and to reward the neglected few who have Abilitys and Inclinations to serve their Country. In such an Enquiry, which is necessary, and which is your Duty to make, the Officers of State, who are innocent, will rejoice at the Opportunity of clearing themselves to their Countrymen of imputed Crimes ; and none will tremble but those who deserve the Halter or the Block. Justice should be done to the Public, and you ought to do it ; you ought to compel the Plunderers to restore to the Nation what they have robbed it of, if you leave them without Land, Money, or Household-goods, by such a Compulsion ; nor should their Punishment end there ; they should close their Scene at Tyburn or Tower-hill ; these are the Means, and the only Means, by which you can deter future Servants of the Public from male Practices.

Practices. Chuse rather to bring such Wretches to Justice than to deserve the Punishment yourselves by concurring with them in the Ruin of your Country.

When you have punished bad Ministers, and introduced such new as from their former Conduct and Characters give a Prospect of a just Administration, you are to consider whether we can carry on the War to our Advantage: if there is a Probability of our doing it, insist on the Means, which we all know must be by a vigorous Exertion of our naval Force: you see how the People of *England* are affected by the Success of our Fleets in two late Expeditions: the Victory obtained by Lord *Anson* and Sir *Peter Warren*, and the other by Admiral *Hawk*, have rendered the People almost forgetful awhile of their Grievances: therefore let not the Commons of *England* in Parliament be so servilely obsequious to any other Part of the Legislature as to forward vain Expeditions on Land; of the ill Consequences of which we have had such late and dismal Examples. Let our Trade be secured by proper Cruisers and Convoys, and our Coasts guarded by vigilant and able Officers, and the Subjects of *Great Britain* need not be frightened by the Menaces of *France*. On this Consideration

we look on ourselves as greatly injured by the Removal of so faithful and able an Officer as Mr. *Vernon*.

Should you pass the Place and Pension Bills, so requisite to the Freedom of the House of Commons, and should you restore Parliaments to their antient Foundation, and repeal some penal Laws such as the Riot Act, and should you put in Force some Clauses in the Act of Settlement which have been repealed, you would gain the Affections of all your Countrymen, and immortal Honour would attend your Names.

No Conquest abroad can be of a thousandth Part of the Value of the Preservation of our Liberties at Home; that therefore should be your principal Consideration; in which you and all your Posterity are as nearly interested as any other of the Community: I hope therefore that none of you will prefer any present lucrative Offer to so durable a Good as that. Your passing such Bills as I have mentioned will greatly contribute towards the Restoration of our Liberties; and the forming a regular Militia in the several Countys, and arming, and training them in proper Discipline, will be very conducive to the Security of all our Liberties,

Libertys, and one of the surest Means to prevent an Invasion, if any Transports should escape our Fleets ; and by such a Militia the vast Charge of keeping up a large standing Army would be prevented. Was there such a Militia as I am speaking of, no foreign Force would be so foolish to venture being first destroyed by our Fleet, and, if they should avoid that, being overpowered by a Set of Men always ready to oppose Invaders, whose Propertys and Tenderness for their Familys would add Vigour to their Arms ; but these are Considerations which never entered into the Minds of late Ministers or Parliaments, who made no other Use of Times of profound Peace but to indulge their Master's insatiable Desires, and to enrich themselves with the Plunder of their Country.

Salutary Laws to prevent the Encrease of Luxury and Debauchery of all Sorts will greatly promote the Common Weal ; for Nothing is more certain than that *public Virtues are public Benefits.* Luxury and Debauch have reduced many to the Necessity of selling their Votes at the Time of electing Members to serve in Parliament ; and many are inclined to think that they have been

been the Occasion of Men selling their Votes when in Parliament.

As you, Gentlemen, are the Founders of Laws, the Regulators of Manners, the Rewarders of the virtuous, and the Punishers of the wicked, you will find it the Interest of your Country, and consequently of yourselves, to be strict in the Execution of every Part of your important Trust; a Neglect of which must in Time produce Discontent, Confusion, and civil Broils; to prevent which is more particularly your Interest than that of the Rest of the Community; because if civil Commotions should arise, which I hope your Virtues and Wisdom will hinder, the Vengeance of the People will mark you out as the odious Objects of their Indignation.

*I am, Gentlemen,*

*Your Well-wisher,*

*and humble Servant,*

CALEB D'ANVERS.

LETTER

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## LETTER II.

GENTLEMEN,

IN my former Letter I layed before ye some Grievances, selected from many under which we now labour ; and I shewed the Necessity of your attending to them and redressing them. I likewise pointed out the Means of removing those Evils for the future, and of warding the Blow which now seems to threaten us. I shall now trouble you with an Enquiry into the Origin of your Power, into what it consists in, and into your indispensable Duty as Representatives of the People. I do not assume the Air of a Dictator, but a Remembrancer to ye, tho I very well know that Instruction is necessary to some of ye, who have not made these Parts of Knowledge so much the Subjects of your Consideration as other Members of the same House have, and

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as some of you ought to have done before ye took the great, the important, Trust upon ye.

I suppose, Gentlemen, that ye all know that every Government is a human Institution, and that all Power must be obtained either by the free Consent of those governed, or by Force, or Fraud, in those who govern. Governments which are founded on the unanimous Approbation of the People are in their Origin free Governments; and continue so till Force or Fraud warps them from their primitive Institution; and, in such a Case, the People are bound, in Duty to themselfes and their Posterity, to destroy the Violators of their Libertys if they can.

The *Assembly* called *Parliament* in *England* is derived from our *Saxon* Ancestors, and was at first the Congregation of the whole People who were free, no other having any Power to form Governments or Laws. This general Assembly was called *Michelgemote*; in which all public Acts for the Good of the Community were made; and the Magistrate called *King* was obliged to assent to what the whole Body of the People agreed; it was not in his Choice whether he should give what is now called the royal Assent or not:

not: his Duty was to sign all popular A&ts, and to act as the first Magistrate in the Execution of them. As the Land grew more peopled, and Numbers encreased to a great Degree, those public Assenblys of the whole People grew too tumultuous, and were attended with such Inconveniences as proved great Embarrassments to public Bufyness: an Assembly therefore of a small Number, chose by the whole in different Parts of the Country, was instituted; and those were the Attornys or Representatives of their Constituents. Those Representatives were chose by Freemen to make such Laws as should establish good Manners, and be productive of other Advantages; and those Laws the Deputys of the People were as much bound to observe as the Multitude. Hence the Laws of *England* are justly sayed to be of the People's own making: therefore every Time a Member of the House of Commons gives his Vote for a Bill contrary to the express Instructions of his Constituents, he may be sayed to plunge a Dagger into the Constitution; he may be justly called an impious Violator of his Trust, and a Parricide. The Difference betwixt the Lords and Commons is this: the first represent themselves only, tho bound by their relative Duty to act for the Good of the whole. If a Peer of

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Parliament dys, he is succeeded by his Heir in his legislative Capacity, as well as in his Estate; and he can vote by a Proxy. A Member of the House of Commons can not vote by a Proxy, because he is himself but the Proxy of other Persons; and, when he dys, he is not succeeded in his parliamentary Capacity by his Heir, but by what Person his Principals think fit to chuse as they chose him. This surely is an Argument in Proof of the Right of the Constituents to instruct, and of the Duty of the Representatives to obey.

Ye see here, Gentlemen, the Origin and Design of Parliaments; the Purity of which Institution can be no longer preserved than while you pay Obedience to the Instructions of your Principals, no longer than you make the Good of the whole the sole End of your Deliberations and voting. You are not chose into Parliament as into a Shop or Warehouse, in which you are to consult your own private Interest, abstracted from all Connection with the Public; for, whenever you begin to act in that Manner, you warp from the original Institution into Fraud, and ought to be punished for fraudulent Practices, as every Magistrate ought who makes

makes the Public no Part of his Consideration in the Execution of his Office, but himself and Dependents the only Objects of his Regard: and if on Male-administrations of all Sorts of Magistrates and Legislators, by whatever Denomination they are called, the People do not right themselves, the Omission must proceed either from Want of Power or Want of Wisdom. This Doctrine, I am sensible, would be called seditious by such profligate Authors as Bishop *Parker* and Sir *Robert Filmer*; but it has a different Name from such wise and virtuous Writers on Government as *Hooker*, *Sidney*, and *Locke*. *Sedition* is looked upon by them as a disorderly and unjust Opposition to Legislators and Magistrates who never transgress the Laws by which themselves and the People are equally bound: Resistance to bad Legislators and Magistrates is an Opposition to Evil, and a Discharge of our Duty in the Protection of what is good.

The wise and frugal *Spartans* subjected their Kings to Fines, Imprisonments, and Death, according to the Nature of their Offence: and *Zenophon* calls *Agisilaus* a righteous and faithful King, because, in Obedience to the Laws of his Country, he put an End to the War which he had begun in

*Asia*

*Asia* with Success and Glory, on the Command of the *Ephori*, who were Magistrates established by the People for the Restraint of Kings who should presume to exercise any illegal Power.

Among other Dutys, Gentlemen, you, who have the same Power of the *Ephori* of *Sparta*, and a greater, should be vigilant that no other Part of the Ligislature extends its Power beyond the proper Bounds. As you are Guardians of the Libertys of the People, indeed as you are to consider yourselves as the very People whom you are chose to represent, you ought to look on the Crown with a jealous Eye, and not to suffer the least Encrease of Prerogative there ; for every Acceßion of Power which the Crown gains is a Step taken towards making it arbitrary : a good and wise Prince indeed will never aim at that which will afford no Addition of Glory or Ease to him while he encroaches on the Libertys of the People ; but as we may possibly be cursed, in some future Reign, with a King who may be always obstinately wrong, an upright Parliament is the Security, and the only one, which we can hope for against such a Pest that may possibly arise. Such a King is by *Plato* and *Aristotle* sayed to forfeit all Claim to Preheminence ; for their

their Distinction betwixt a Tyrant and a lawful King is this : the first is one who oppresses his Subjects whenever it is requisite for his own Pleasure or Profit ; the other regards the Good of the Community as the principal Object of his Care ; you cannot therefore be too vigilant or too active against all Approaches to absolute Power, lest he who may be vested with it should deflect to the Tyrant.

You are not only to guard against Encroachments which may be attempted by the other Parts of the Legislature, but you should religiously observe the Limits of your own Power : should you presume to continue yourselves fourteen Years, when you are by your Principals chose only for seven, you would become as real Tyrants as that Prince would who should arrogantly attempt to make his Will the Law against the known Statutes and Constitution of the Land ; and the People would be justifiable in using the Power which they have to destroy you for so impious an Act. The septennial Bill was passed at a particular Crisis, against which the People did not remonstrate, from their Attachment to the present royal Family, and their Abhorrence of those who raised a Rebellion in the Land in Behalf of an abjured

jured popish Pretender ; but it would be righteous, and no more than is our Due, in another House of Commons, to restore Parliaments to their antient Dates. The Policy of a former Reign was, at the Time of a Rebellion, to continue a Parliament to a longer Date than was before legal : the Policy of this was to dissolve it before the Expiration of the Time for which it was chose ; and if the latter, as some suspect, was only a ministerial Artifice to take Advantage of the Fears and other Weaknesses of the People, I may call it the Infatuation of the Times, in Order to secure a House of Commons of the Ministry's recommending (I wish it deserved so soft a Term as Recommendation), it is in you, Gentlemen, to defeat their Hopes ; and, as I sayed in my former Letter, you will by such a Conduct gain the Affections of all your Countrymen, and immortal Honour will attend your Names.

You are to consider that there is no lawful or righteous Power but what is derived from the People ; if ever therefore you should depart from that first grand Principle of Government, you would become an illegal Magistracy : you and all other Magistrates, from the Constable with his Staff to the King with his Sceptre, are instituted for the Good of the Community ; in creating each of

of you the People sought their own Advantage, in which your Interest is likewise included ; and, whenever you neglect the Good of those who chose you for your own particular Emoluments, you are liable to be called to account by your Principals.

Sir *Robert Filmer* says, that *we are to look at the Power, not at the Ways by which it is gained*; a Doctrine so fraught with Mischief, that the Author deserved the Gallows for his Defence of it ! He rose indeed in an Age when ministerial Influence had polluted the Dignity of Parliaments, when the House of Commons was filled with such venal Wretches as cowred to the Command of a prime Minister, an Officer who is no Part of the Legislature : and yet in the Reign in which that profligate Scribbler wrote a prime Minister trampled on all the sacred Rights, Privileges, and Libertys, of the People, while the Guardians who should have been, their Representatives as they were unjustly called, assisted in the Violation for a paltry Hire, for Wages which have helped to fill the House of Lords with Nobles who have no Prerogative of Birth, and whose Founders had no Preheminence but of Wickedness.

Our Hopes, Gentlemen, are in you, that the same Conduct shall not be repeated, that the present Reign shall not be subjected to the same Censure, and that our Grievances may be redressed. Among you are some who are more tenacious of their Virtue than of their Property ; and if any of ye are tainted with the ministerial Pestilence, which has been more fatal to *England* than any other epidemical Plague, wash yourselves clean by a timely Repentance; and join in the Destruction of those who have sought your Dishonour and the Ruin of their Country. I am,

*Gentlemen,*

*Your earnest Well-wisher,*

*and Humble Servant,*

CALEB D'ANVERS,

LETTER

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## LETTER III.

GENTLEMEN,

THE best Forms of Government which were ever conceived and reduced into Practice we find have been perishable, tho some of them, especially the Commonwealth of *Rome* in its Purity approached near to that Perfection which might promise Immortality. The Decay of a Constitution every Way framed for the Good of Society is owing to the Follys and Dishonesty of Legislators, and other Magistrates, who are undeservedly chose into their Trust. Without Wisdom little can be expected that is valuable from any Assembly; you therefore among ye who want it should make it your Duty to seek it, as you have entered into a Guardianship that calls for Wisdom in the Execution of it: it is in

the Power of ye all to be honest ; and none of ye are so ignorant as not to be well assured that the Observance of strict Justice is required of ye from your Countrymen who made ye Members of Parliament, and from God who made ye Men : with these Considerations you should arise in the Morning ; nor should your Nights pass without an Attention to them. Your Neglect in these Points will be followed by the Ruin of your Posterity, who may be born free and to Property, if you will resolve to prevent Slavery, and despotic Power, from entering the Land : how much your Condition in another Life may be affected by an iniquitous Conduct in Parliament is the Duty of our Clergy to lay before ye ; and, if they have the Honour and Success of the Christian Religion at Heart as much as you ought to have the Interest of your Country, they will not cease their Exhortations, backed by the most persuasive Arguments which they can use, till they are satisfyed that they have done all that they can towards the good Work. They will not imitate that Prostitute of a Prelate who blushed not to justify Corruption in one of his Speeches in the other House.

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The Liberties of *England* have been almost sacrificed to the Crown in many Reigns by the Ministers of the Prince, of the Prince, I say, because they cannot be called the Ministers of the People : Force and Fraud have been used by *Spenser, Gaveston, Mortimer, Wolsey, Buckingham, Strafford*, and many more since ; and those whom I have named fell just Sacrifices to the Resentments of a Nation injured and oppressed by them ; and if you, Gentlemen, should be satisfyed that in the Time of your legislative Power there are any Ministers of State whose Actions are not directed to the Good of the People, but on the contrary embarrass the Affairs of the State, and encrease the Prerogative of the Crown at the Expence of the Liberties of the People, and which load us with such heavy Taxes as are scarcely to be borne, and those in Support of unwise and fruitless Expeditions, and which destroy our Manufactorys for the trifling Accession of a small Sum raised on them, it is your Duty to bring such Ministers to the same End with those before mentioned.

The amazing Sums which have been squandered away in foreign Subsidys, for Purposes not in the least to the Interest of *England*, should be repayed out of the Estates of

of those Men who promoted the giving such Subsidys ; and, if their Estates are not sufficient to answer the Demand of the Public, they should disgorge all and be turned to graze on the Common : and this is in your Power, Gentlemen, to bring about ; and it is your Duty to do it without Delay when ye meet.

In my second Letter I confined myself chiefly to general Principles of Government ; but that I may affect the Particulars of our Countrymen, I shall use the Words of the People of *Peterborough* in their Instructions in the Year 1742 to their Representatives *Edward Wortley* and *Armstead Parker*, Esqrs. the first of which is one of their present Representatives.

“ Gentlemen, tho your former Behaviour in Parliament has been such as to give us an entire Confidence with Respect to your future Conduct, and that you merit our Thanks rather than need our Instructions, yet we, your *Constituents*, think proper, at this critical Juncture, to join in the Voice of the Nation concerning some Particulars, wherein we conceive the Honour of his Majesty, and the Safety “ and

“ and Freedom of our Constitution, to be  
 “ essentially concerned.

“ First then we require you to use your  
 “ utmost Endeavours for restoring the Fre-  
 “ quency, and preserving the Independen-  
 “ cy, of Parliaments, effectually to prevent  
 “ all corrupt Influences, to correct the too  
 “ frequent and most scandalous Abuses of  
 “ Power in returning Officers, and more es-  
 “ pecially to limit the Number of Place-  
 “ men to sit in the House of Commons.

“ The Decay likewise in the woollen  
 “ Manufacture has been long the Object of  
 “ our just Complaints; which as it is at  
 “ Length thought worthy the Attention of  
 “ Parliament, we desire and expect your  
 “ Concurrence in all such Measures as shall  
 “ be judged most conducive to the Redress  
 “ of it: by doing this you will render a  
 “ most effectual Service both to the landed  
 “ and trading Part of this Nation, as well  
 “ as of us your Electors, the Interest of  
 “ which are so intimately united that one  
 “ cannot be materially hurt but the other  
 “ must be sensibly affected.

“ We farther beg Leave most earnestly  
 “ to recommend this Redress of our Griev-  
 “ ances

“ ances by an impartial Enquiry, and doing  
 “ Justice to an injured Nation by an exem-  
 “ plary Punishment of such as shall be  
 “ found Betrayers of their Country, and  
 “ who, by their wicked Measures, have  
 “ brought so much Disgrace upon us abroad,  
 “ and so much Poverty at Home, and such  
 “ Ruin and Desolation to our antient and  
 “ natural Allys.

“ We presume not to dictate in Matters  
 “ above us, but so far only as we ourselves  
 “ suffer by the general Decay of Trade, the  
 “ Encrease of the poor, and the Weight of  
 “ our Taxes, occasioned, as we apprehend,  
 “ more for the Support of a Faction at Home  
 “ than our Defence against a foreign  
 “ Enemy.

“ We trust therefore that you will use  
 “ your best Endeavours to abolish all Di-  
 “ stinction of Partys, that his Majesty may  
 “ reign in the Hearts of all his People,  
 “ and that far the greatest Part be no longer  
 “ unjustly reckoned Enemies to the Govern-  
 “ ment in his illustrious Family, because  
 “ they disapprove the destructive Mea-  
 “ sures of some of his Servants.”

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The particular Grievances here pointed out cry aloud for Redress; but instead of meeting with it at the Time when these Instructions were sent, or in any Time since, every Year has added many to them: we have seen Taxes on Taxes layed on the Subjects without Mercy, and without any Account given of the Application of the Money, and we have seen our Manufactorys distressed, such as that of the Plate-Glass, for the Sake of a paltry Sum added to the national or rather ministerial Dutys; and we have seen Excise Laws extended beyond what the late Corrupter could ever effect.

It is your Duty, Gentlemen, as former Parliaments have given public Money towards building *Westminster-Bridge*, to enquire into the Cause of the Pier sinking: if you find that Notice, grounded on Examination into the Foundation and on unerring Principles in Mechanics, was given to the principal Persons concerned in the Building, and that, notwithstanding that Notice given, they would obstinately continue the Work, you ought to call those Persons to an Account, and to inflict a just Punishment on them. The Commissioners for building this Bridge acted like King *Charles the second*, who sent Mrs. *Afra Behn* to the *Hague* that

she might, by constant Conversation with Persons of Rank, get into some useful Secrets and communicate them to the *English* Court ; and that Lady absolutely sent King *Charles* an Account of the Design of the *Dutch* to burn our Fleet in our Harbours ; which Intelligence he treated as chimerical till he received the News of the Ships burning at *Chatham*. If the Commissioners employed the late Mr. *King*, to whose Knowledge in Mechanics the present surviving Builders of the Bridge are said to owe much, and if he gave them Warning of the Misfortune which has happened to interrupt the Building, and perhaps entirely to impede it, or at least to render it ever unsafe in that Part, it is your Duty to exact from those who neglected his Advice the Reason of such a Conduct, and to punish them in Proportion to their Offence to the Public.

Tho the Fall of *Westminster-Bridge* is of but little Consequence to the Public in Comparison with the Ruin of our Liberties, yet the lesser Dutys of your Trust demand your Attention to them.

Let me again exhort you to use your best Endeavours to put an End to all parliamentary Corruption ; we have lately seen Disturbances arising from it in a certain County ;

ty; in which two Noblemen are said to have met with the Treatment of Dogs and Slaves; and, indeed, if what is imputed to them is true, a greater Punishment than that ignominious one is their Due.

If Representatives and Constituents would maturely consider the inevitable Consequences of Bribery, they would be shocked at the Apprehension, however distant the Danger: Slavery is the unavoidable Effect of it: Reason will prove it by a Chain of natural Events, and Example bears Testimony of it in antient and modern History. The Common wealth of *Rome* stood firm, like an Edifice founded on a Rock, till Corruption sapped the Foundation, and by Degrees hurled down the noble Structure: and *England*, in the Reign of King *Charles the second*, was corrupt from the Crown to the lowest Freeholder; and what was the Consequence? We were selling each other; and *France*, the grand Corrupter of States, Principalities, and Kings, was Mistress of all our Counsels, and took all Advantages of us which such a treacherous Information from Home could give: we were near being a Province to *France* in that Reign, and in all likelihood had been, if the public Virtue of some few had not prevented it. That

Slavery

Slavery must be the Consequence of Corruption is evident to all who rationally examine into the Causes and Effects of it ; the Causes must certainly be for Ends no Way salutary to the Public ; for, if such only were pursued, there would be no Necessity to bribe the several Members of the Body politic to concur in an Act conducive to their own Health and Interest : the Ends therefore proposed must be selfish to the few who offer the Means ; the Consequence therefore must be, that the Administration of the Affairs of the Public will be lodged in the Hands of those few. If any of you, as I before sayed, are under a ministerial Influence, break the Bonds asunder, and unite against the common Enemy of your Country : exert all your Powers to put a Stop to that Torrent of Corruption, which, if not timely stopped, will inevitably fill the Land with civil Commotions ; which Nothing but your Virtues can prevent, as I hope they will for the Sake of all *Englishmen*, our King, and his royal Issue : I am, Gentlemen, in these Hopes,

*Your most humble Servant*

CALEB D'ANVERS.

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## On KINGS and MINISTERS of S T A T E.

THE Miserys which fall on most Nations are sometimes derived from the Conduct of Kings, but more frequently from that of prime Ministers, sometimes thro the want of Honesty in them, sometimes thro their want of Understanding, and often thro their Want of both. The late *Lewis le Grand* was a known Prevaricator, and one in whom no Trust could be placed: he would enter into any League proposed by other Powers which carryed an Aspect favourable to himself; and he would, without any Hesitation, break that League, if he had a Prospect of any Advantage to be gained by such a Breach of Honour. King *Richard the first of England* was

was a Prince on whom none could depend ; Prevarication was his dayly Practice ; he never scrupled breaking his Promise, if it suited not his present Inclination to perform it ; he violated the most solemn Acts frequently, and thereby broke the Band of Allegiance which held his People : from a Sense of their Wrongs, they justly fell from their Obedience to him ; and the best and oldest of the Nobility entered into a virtuous Association against a Tyrant, who was tearing Virtue up by the Roots, and rending the Property of the Subjects from them without any Mercy, under the Name of Taxes. These flagitious and scandalous Actions, which will always wipe off the Lustre of a Crown, brought on those bloody and miserable Wars called, *The Wars of the Barons*, which many Years harrassed this unhappy Land. Had not King *Charles* the first indulged the Vice of Prevarication too much, he might have diverted the Storm which fell so heavy on his Country and himself. This Vice has stained the Throne of *England* in more Reigns than those ; they who have been used to read the Speeches of Kings to their Parliaments, and the Addresses of Parliaments to their Kings, cannot but conclude that the Disease communicated itself from one Part of the Legislature to

to another. In Times like those, the People were obliged either to be bound, like *Prometheus*, to the Rock, to be preyed on by the Vulture, and to have their very Bowels devoured, or to run all the melancholly Hazards of a Civil War. If they submited to the first, inevitable Destruction ensued ; when they have engaged in the other, from Blood and Wounds have sprung Health and Security, which always lasted as long as the People preserved Unanimity and Integrity.

Kings are to be considered as Men chose to fill the first Seat of Magistracy ; in that Light, and that only, they must be considered, if we would regard them as useful Beings, and not as Burdens to the Society in which they preside ; as such they are intitled to the first Honours of a Community ; and a relative Duty is payed to them, and expected from them. Unless a King thinks that he owes a Duty to his Subjects, the Country in which he reigns has little Prospect of Happiness from him ; even where he is despotic, where there is no Law but his Will, even in such an unfortunate Government, there is a Duty due from the arbitrary Monarch to his Subjects. Before such a Prince can be absolved from his Duty,

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the very Laws of Nature must be unhinged ; for, if Right and Wrong have their Foundations in Reason, there is a relative Duty from the highest to the lowest Beings in Nature. In some free States, in which a King is the first Magistrate, he is exalted with an extraordinary Distinction above every other Man in the Community ; the Trappings of his Government, as Mr. Sidney calls them, are blazing and magnificent ; and his Household is supported at an Expence which would maintain, with all the comfortable Necessaries of Life, fifty thousand of those Men who contribute to this extravagant Appointment for the royal Magistrate. In all these royal Honours and Emoluments, he is protected by the People, in Return : the Protection of their Liberty, of all their Rights in foreign Commerce and domestic Trade, of the Laws for the Preservation of Life and Property, is due to the People from the King : the Prince who shall suffer his Ministers to exercise any lawless Act of Power, or to do that to the Disadvantage of the meanest Subject which cannot by the known Laws of the Land be justifyed, will be defective in his Duty. Thus far of Kings. The Duty of all Men, who have Abilities equal to the Administration of Affairs of the State, is to make the Good of their Country

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the sole Object of their Concern. If, in Pursuit of this, a Minister should happen to thwart the Intentions of his royal Master, he should still persevere, chusing rather to offend his Prince than injure his Country: he ought to use his best Endeavours to convince his Master of his Error; if he succeeds therein, he does his King and Country good Service; and, if he has an obstinate and indocil Master, it is his indispensable Duty not to indulge him in the least in any partial Attachments to the Detriment of his Country; he should not resign his Place, but continue inflexible in the Service of the Nation; and, if his Prince thinks fit to remove him from him, he should look on the Loss of his Place as more eligible than continuing in it on Terms too severe for Virtue to grant. These are the Dutys of a Minister of State; but the ministerial Causes of Misery to a Land have been much more frequent than any other. When Men of but moderate natural Abilitys, without an elevated Sense of Honour, gain the Ascendant in a State, that is, when they become prime Ministers, instead of acting the honest and open Part which wise and virtuous Men would chuse, they have Recourse to Fine-sie and poultry Arts of Expediency: and these Pedlars in Politics, these Fellows who by

Nature were not formed for any Circle in Life above that of Attorneys, always have heaped Distress on their Country, and Disgrace on their Prince : such were *Mazarine* in *France*, *Strafford*, *Buckingham*, and *Walpole*, in *England* ; who pursued such tricking Measures, such falacious and unwarrantable Methods of Administration, as brought on their several Countrys such Evils as were beyond the Power of Virtue and Wisdom to drive soon away ; and if, on the Appearance of the woful Consequences of the Conduct of such Ministers, their Successors should tread in their Steps, they ought to fall Sacrifices to the just Resentment of the People ; and, if the Crown should endeavour to protect them, they should be pulled from it like a Blister-plaister, that might destroy the Patient if it stayed on too long, and which might leave him in a fair Way of Recovery, if taken off in Time.

*France* and *England* have generally derived their Miserys from the jugling Artifices and bungling Politics of their prime Ministers : their scandalous Conduct in Regard to both foreign and domestic Affairs has been such, that their Neighbours have not been easly prevailed on to enter into Alliances with them ; and one of the most impudent and dullest

dullest of our evil Ministers declared, that if we engaged in a War, we must do it without Allys ; for he sayed we had none ; and at that Time it was well known that he had covered the Land with Dishonour, and weakened our Power and Reputation abroad.

Nations have always flourished under the Administration of Men who followed no Guide but the natural Interest of their Country, Men who despised all Artifices and Fallacys, as beneath the Practice of great Minds, which seek no Aid not connected with Wisdom and Virtue. Such was Monsieur *Colbert* in *France*, whose plain and honest Schemes advanced the Interest of that Nation. He was a Man so much above the vile and sordid Views of one of the *British* Ministrys in his Time, that he had a Delight in exposing the Wretches of *England* who were attempting then to ruin their Country ; and among the Means which they took for it was their Design of setting aside the *Hanover* Succession, and of introducing a popish Pretender. Some of the Favourers and Abettors of which Ministry we have seen in Stations unbecoming them, and of which they are very undeserving, while Men who always wished well, and acted for,

for, the House of *Hanover*, have been neglected. Among the Ministers in *England* who have acted above the little Arts of those who have abused and disgraced their Country were *Walsingham*, *Burleigh*, *Halifax*, and *Godolphin*, Men who made the Interests of *England* the sole Objects of their Administration, Men who made no separate Interest of Prince and People, and who disdained the Thought of pillaging the Nation to enrich themselves, who prefered the Good of their Country to all other Considerations, and who chose to bequeath to their Posterity the Example of virtuous Deeds and a fair Name rather than a large Inheritance raised on their Country's Ruin, and their own Dishonour.

I will venture to say that we have seen such Prostitution among Senators as has rendered some of them the Disgrace, not only of the Seats which they filled, but of Manhood : such are they who have acted repugnant to their Sentiments, if their Sentiments were to be collected from their Speeches. Instances of this we have seen in Houses, Courts, and on Benches, where Purity only ought to come : such a Confederacy in the State, and Church, with the Ministry, is often the Seduction of the innocent

nocent Believer, and the Destruction of good Manners and Religion, as well as of our Liberties and Propertys. Such Instruments of a Minister are like common Whores, who prostitute themselves, who submit to the most shocking Indignitys, for Gain.

Good Kings contemn and hate such Profligates as are capable of prostituting their Consciences to their Prince for Lucre and Titles of Honour. King *William* the third of *England* was a Prince who loved Truth, and could not bear such Men about him as would flatter and ly ; he knew no good could spring from them either to the People or the King ; therefore he cherished such as *Pembroke*, *Schomberg*, *Hallifax*, and *Somers* ; and it is told of the first, that when he walked by the Place where the King and Lord *Arlington*, with some other Noblemen no more noted for their Veracity, were talking, the King, pointing to the Earl of *Pembroke*, said to *Arlington* and the Rest there goes a Man who never told me a Ly. Sir *William Temple*, who was a Man of Veracity and Ability, and therefore a Favourite of the King, has in his Memoirs made this Part of the Character of King *William* apparent : and Kings, who themselves love Virtue, Truth, and Wisdom, will not chuse a vicious Fellow, a Lyar, or a Fool, for

for their Counsellor, or their Companion ; and such Kings as make such a Choice are unfit for regal Sway.

The great Men whom I have mentioned were Lovers of their Country, and did all in their Power to promote the Honour and Interest of it. As they were Men of Learning and Genius, as well as of Virtue, they looked out for learned and ingenious Men, and, without any Sollicitations from them, became Patrons of them. There was scarcely an Office then in *England* which had not Men of good Education and Judgement in it: the Provinces therefore in every Office which required Abilitys were filled as they ought to be, and not disgraced by an awkward Execution of the Busyness by the Hands of low Fellows and Blockheads; \* but when the latter get into the foremost Places of Confidence and Profit, Men of liberal Education and rich Endowments must expect to be shut out from all public Offices: a Place indeed in which they desire not, while under the Direction of Ignorance and Baseness.

\* Mr. *A—w S—e* and two or three more come not under the Censure; but, excepting them, there has been lately a shameful Neglect of Men of Education and Abilitys.

*The E N D.*







